## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02017 122358Z

51

**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 SAJ-01 SAM-01 NEA-09 EA-06 /089 W

R 121455Z APR 75 FM USMISSION NATO TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1164 INFO AMEMBASSY BONN USMISSION GENEVA AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 2017
E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR
SUBJECT: THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"
REF: A. USNATO A-59, MAR 28, 1975
B. USNATO A-66, APR 8, 1975
GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

1. DURING STATEMENTS ON POLLTICAL SUBJECTS AT APRIL 11 POLADS, THE FRG REP (CITRON) DISTRIBUTED AN ANALYSIS DRAWN FROM THE SOVIET PRESS WHICH, HE SAID, HAS RECENTLY BEEN EMPHASIZING THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE". HE RECALLED EARLIER PAPERS BY THE UK AND CANADA (REF AIRS) AND SUGGESTED THAT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MIGHT CONSIDER PREPARATION OF A SHORT ANALYSIS OF THE SOVIET DEFINITION OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" FOR SUBMISSION TO THE NAC. DANISH REP (VILLADSEN)

SUPPORTED THE FRG SUGGESTION. THE CHAIRMAN (KASTL) AGREED THE PROPOSAL

HAD MERIT AND PROMISED TO PUT IT ON THE AGENDA FOR THE APRIL 15 POLADS.

2. TEXT OF FRG PAPER FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 02017 122358Z

THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SEVERAL EXAMPLES WHERE THE SOVIET PRESENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS HAS TAKEN ON A MORE AGRESSIVE TONE WHICH SEEMS TO BE DETERMINED MORE BY IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN RELATION TO THE SOVIET BLOC THAN BY A DESIRE FOR POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH THE WEST. SUCH AN

EXAMPLE IS THE ASSESSMENT IN "PRAVDA" ON 8 APRIL OF THE RESULTS OF THE "PEACE PROGRAMME" ADOPTED FOUR YEARS AGO BY THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY:

THE INSEPARABLE LINK BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE SUPPORT OF THE NATIONS' ASPIRATIONS FOR SICIAL (SIC\*) AND NATIONAL LIBERATION HAD ALWAYS BEEN AND WOULD CONTINUE TO BE THE BASIS OF THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET CP. THIS WAS A CONCRETE EXPRESSION OF THE CLASS CHARACTER OF SOVIET POLICY AND OF THE DIALECTIC INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE IN "PRAVDA" MENTIONED ABOVE, THE POLICY OF DETENTE ADDS TO THE ISOLATION OF THE "IMPERIALIST AND REACTIONARY FORCES" AND CREATES INCREASINGLY FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS. (THIS IS FOLLOWED BY A REFERENCE TO PORTUGAL AND GREECE). AT THE SAME TIME, THE UNITY OF THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM AND PROGREESS AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN A LARGE NUMBER OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES WERE GROWING.

THE LINK BETWEEN THE SOVIET DETENTE CONCEPT AND THE ACTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS IN THE WEST HAS HARDLY EVER BEFORE BEEN MADE SO CLEAR. THIS DESCRIPTION OF THE CONCEPT OF PEACE-FUL COEXISTENCE SEEMS TO BRING OUT SOME MORE ELEMENTS OF THE SOVIET AIMS THAAN THE DEFINITION CONTAINED IN THE JOINT STATE-MENT PUBLISHED ON THE OCCASION OF PRIME MINISTER WILSON'S VISIT TO MOSCOW.

IT WOULD STILL BE PREMATURE TO SPEAK OF A FIRM TREND TOWARDS HARDER LANGUAGE IN THE SENSE THAT THE DESIRE TO APPEAR AS A CREDIBLE PARTNER OF COOPERATION IN THE EYES OF THE WEST IS GIVEN LESS IMPORTANCE THAN THE WISH TO DEMONSTRATE POLITICAL OR IDEOLOGICAL SUCCESSES OR PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS TO THE SOCIALIST CAMP. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS STILL NOT OBTAINED CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 02017 122358Z

EVERYTHINGWHICH IT EXPECTS FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE WEST, AND IT STILL REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE CRITICAL EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDOCHINA WILL DEVELOP ALONG THE LINES OF SOVIET INTERESTS.

THE SOVIET REPORTS ON THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE BEEN STRIKINGLY MODERATE AND WITHOUT ANY SIGN OF TRIUMPH. NEVERTHELESS, ONE SHOULD NOT OVERLOOK THAT THERE IS A TEMPTATION TO REGARD THE POSOTION OF THE WEST IN THESE AREAS AS CONFIRMING THE THESIS THAT HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS AWOULD NECESSARILY TURN THE BALANCE IN FAVOUR OF THE SOCILAIST FORCES, AND THUS TO BE INDUCED TO PURSUE A MORE SELF-CONFIDENT AND LESS CONSIDERATE POLICY. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO OBSERVE CAREFULLY WHETHER THE GREATER SOVIET CONCENTRATION ON THE FORTHCOMING EVENTS IN THEIR OWN CAMP(ESPECIALLY THE CONFERENCE OF

EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE 25TH PARY CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET CP) WILL LEAD TO A STRONGER EMPHAISIS OF BLOC AND IDEOLOGICAL PRIORITIES AS OPPOSED TO POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH THE WEST.

END TEXT

3.ACTIONREQUESTED: IT IS UNLIKELY, THAT POLADS WILL BE IN POSITION TO PREPARE PAPER PRIOR TO SESSION ON APRIL 22. REQUEST GUIDANCE FOR APRIL 15 POLADS ON POSSIBILITY OF U.S. INPUT TO FRG-PROPOSED STUDY BY LATTER DATE.
BRUCE

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999 Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: n/a Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 12 APR 1975 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO02017

Document Number: 1975NATO02017 Document Source: ADS Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: n/a

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: 11652 GDS

Errors: n/a Film Number: n/a From: NATO

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path:

Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197504101/abbrzjiq.tel Line Count: 123

Locator: TEXT ON-LINE

Office: n/a

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 3

**Previous Channel Indicators:** 

Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL

Previous Glassification: OCI 1921-1975
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. USNATO A-59, MAR 28, 1975 B. USNATO A-66, APR 8, 1975 GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Authority: CunninFX

Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 30 APR 2003

**Review Event:** 

Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 APR 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <23 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>

**Review Markings:** 

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JÚL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:** 

Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR
To: STATE INFO BONN

**GENEVA** LONDON MOSCOW

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2000	5